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DEBS' "CUCUMBERS"

ECHOES OF THE DEBATE

THAT DID NOT TAKE PLACE BE-TWEN O'FIRELLY AND MAC-CARTNEY.

The Hero Who "Swallowed His Words and Grew Pale on His Feet" Finds a Defender, Who Answered in a Way That Met With Approval.

N. Abington, Mass., Feb. 13.—Enclosed find the latest echoes of the debate that did not take place between Fred MacCartney and Jerry O'Fihelly. They consist of a series of communications and a pair of editorial comments in the Rockland weekly newspapers.

The first is an editorial comment in the Rockland Free Press of January the 2d, as follows:

"A Word of Complaint.

"You will not omit to read the poem by J. Q. T. and the letter from a correspondent using the name Cyrus Blake. Each presents suggestions regarding the challenge issued by Mr. MacCartney and accepted by Mr. O'Fihelly.

"Without intention to criticize, and without desire to question the good motives of the contributors above named, it seems but fair, and in justice to Mr. MacCartney and Mr. O'Fihelly, to observe in a complaining way, that the writers have not properly sized up the issue. A careful reading of their articles—though a poem is hardly an article—causes one to think that they were not in a serious mood. They seem to see fun in the business.

"To issue a challenge is a momentous act. To accept it is like momentous. Further, the public interest in the question at stake is serious, profound, almost pretty solemn. It is hoped that future communications will have a more sober cast, and seem more regardful of public feeling."

Then follow the poem and the letter referred to by the Press, with another from the pen of Comrade Jeremiah Devine:

"Our Hero's Slide.

"Oh, wonder, what of the knight?"

"So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood

"

"So boldly he spoke that we felt

"That he would be rash who ventured to dash

"With the blows that our warrior could deal.

"I challenge them all," in a clarion tone,

"He shouted his words to the sky;

"But also, and alack, woe's me and woe;

"Just then Jerry O. happened by.

"And Jerry was learned in all of the things

"Over which Freddy Mac. was just flop-

"Ping his wings;

"The eyes of 'ums' he could find in the dark;

"And people would shell out their ears

"And say 'Hark!'

"When Jerry would tell how his party was right,

"On the nose of the street and the edge of the night,

"The gossips thrown down by our hero—he grabbed,

"By nabbed,

"He even would pay half the bill for the ball,

"That the people might hear, without cost,

"Freddy fall.

"So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood

"

"So boldly he spoke that we felt,

"That he would be rash who would venture to dash

"With the blows that our warrior could deal.

"But all for our hero, and oh! for our hero!

"He seemed to be jolted by a word to the ropes,

"He longed to get out of the way.

"He quaked the language of Honest John L.

"Let him and his party be taken to—well,

"Let them go, get a good reputation, and then

"They may talk on these problems like men and with men.

"They have stoked our votes through deception in names—

"Jim James are Jim James though you call them Jim James."

"Woo, woo, for our hero, he squawked

"and squeaked;

"He swallowed his words and grew pale on the feed;

"The challenge so grandly he threw was thrown back;

"Our hero's bold optics are circled in—dark;

"There's scope on our hearts, and deep doom in our eyes;

"And the tears we let fall are encased in surprise.

"Oh, woe, our Fred, say 'tis all a mis-

"mis-

THE LANDLORD

To Abolish Him Would Not Benefit the Workers.

There are many people who imagine that all would be well in society were it not for the landlord. The landlord, they claim, not only sucks the blood of labor, but capital as well. It is their theory, that if the landlord was removed, the wealth that now goes to him would remain, not only with the capitalists, but the workers as well. To argue thus, shows a complete ignorance of the capitalist system of production.

The capitalist class does no manner of productive work and yet it reaps in wealth. From whence does the capitalist class then derive its income? From the necessity of the worker. The worker must sell his labor power or starve.

The capitalist class owns all the things needed to produce the necessities of life. The railroads, the mines, the factories, etc., are the private property of a comparatively small number of people. As the working class owns none of these necessities, all of which it needs to labor with; it must sell itself to the class that does own them.

When the capitalist buys the labor power of a workingman he does so only because the worker will produce more than he is paid for. If the capitalist had to pay the worker as much as he, the worker produced, the business would not "pay"; there would be no profit.

The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker the same as he buys pig iron, hides or any other commodity, and the price of labor power is governed by the same laws that govern the price of other commodities—the cost of production in human exertion. The food, clothing and shelter of the worker, all produced by human labor power, from the basis of the price of labor power, or, as it is generally called, wages.

Wages, then, are that part of the product of labor which the capitalist pays to the workingman out of the proceeds of that workingman's own production. Say, for instance, that a worker produces value to the extent of \$4 a day, and get \$1 in wages. That dollar is taken out of the wealth that he, himself, produces, while the capitalist pockets the other three dollars. That surplus value created by the worker is called profits.

No doubt the capitalist would gladly keep every penny of this surplus value, but some of it he must yield up to the forces that enable him to exploit the worker. In other words, the capitalist is compelled to "divide"—but not with the worker.

The State or government must get its "share." This it does through taxation. In order to keep the worker down the vast machinery of modern government with its courts, police, militia, jails, penitentiaries and reformatories, must be supported by the capitalist. The workingman is not robbed through taxation. High taxes or low taxes, his wage is just enough to keep him in a more or less fit condition to work. The workingman is robbed in the shop.

If any one has a grievance against the landlord it is the capitalist. It must be understood that the profits of the capitalist is the wealth stolen from labor, less just enough in the shape of wages to enable the toiler to live. The larger the amount needed to keep the worker on the subsistence level, the smaller must be the profits of the capitalist. If tenement rent is high, the wages of the workers must enable them to pay it, or the workers won't be able to live where it is convenient for the capitalist to exploit him.

If rent was reduced away below the present figure, what effect would it have on the well being of the worker? None, and for very good reason. Anything that diminishes the cost of living—cheaper food, clothing, or rent—makes it possible for the worker to do with less wages. And when a worker can do with less, who ever heard of a capitalist paying him more? Any "reform" that would reduce rent could not benefit the worker, if rent were entirely abolished the worker would be in just the same condition as before.

Anyway the identity of capitalist and landlord are becoming more and more blurred every day. The manufacturer usually owns the land on which his factory stands. The steel trust owns most of the iron mines, the coal companies own mines and railroads. The companies that operate the bonanza farms own the land they cultivate.

We do not like to mention names where so many are deserving of praise, but we cannot refrain from commanding our comrade Henry Kuhn for the marvellous energy and skill in organizing, of which we got so many glimpses throughout the course of our tour. That one man should do the work of three as this man does is marvellous enough, but that through it all he should preserve his equanimity and evenness of temper unbroken was more surprising still, especially as we do not shine in that respect ourselves.

"On the tour generally we are of opinion that successful as it was it would have been even more successful from a financial point of view had it taken place earlier in the year, and when no election rush is on. This would have enabled us to take the country a little more leisurely, with weekly breathing spaces, and have thus made possible more open air meetings and the consequent saving of hall rent in all but the larger cities.

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being a source of revenue, are pleasure places where they revel in the wealth stolen from labor.

The single taxer will tell you that his scheme will give the workingman a chance to get at natural opportunities. For the sake of argument, let us grant this, but how could the worker take the advantage of such opportunities? Without capital—the machinery of production—to apply to such resources, he would be as advantageously situated as a man in mid-ocean in an open boat without sail or oars! The single taxer does not seem to think that there has grown up to-day the expression "land poor," i.e., owning land, but lacking capital.

The profits of the capitalist, being, as shown above, that portion of the worker's wealth over and above the wage needed to keep him alive, what difference would it make to him whether that stolen wealth was paid in rent to the State or to private individuals?

Scratch a single taxer and you find a capitalist sympathizer. The exploitation of the worker and all that flows therefrom he does not consider an evil at all. A single taxer had the ignorance to tell the writer that the scheme would raise wages, and increase the "earnings" of the capitalist!

But, let us again, for the sake of argument, agree that land would be rendered easier of access to the worker, what then would be the result? Not as the single taxer imagines: "The raising of wages, increased earnings of capital, extirpation of pauperism, abolition of poverty, remunerative employment," etc., etc. The result would be that whatever miserable existence the worker could eke out of it, with his bare hands, would become the standard of living for him!

Imagine, if you can, how "equal to all" the opportunities to obtain land would be under the capitalist State—with which, by the way, the single taxer has no fault to find.

Wage worker, who is penniless, and capitalist, who has millions, apply to the State, the only landlord, would they fare alike? No, the State would have to be even more exacting than any landlord is to-day. It would have no other source of revenue. Wage worker, who, of course, had no financial standing, wouldn't be allowed to take up a valuable holding, and even if he could, having no capital, he could not use the land. What then could he do? Sell himself to the capitalist just as he does to-day, and that is the "brilliant" theory called the single tax.

As the "free silver" reformer has in mind the time of the "dollar of our fathers," so to the single taxer has in mind a past condition. He sighs for the days of "ten acres and a mule."

But, under the inexorable operation of the laws of capitalism, and with capitalism no "reformer" finds fault, there can be no going backward. Underlying the conditions under which we suffer, is the class ownership of the means of production which we must use to live. Instead of a means for the production of all that would tend to our comfort, these things are to-day a means for our enslavement. We cannot change these conditions of the middle ages, nor would we try. Nor do we propose to let the present system pull us back to barbarism.

It is remarkable how easily mankind is fooled by appearances. Cheap phrases and specious arguments are the stock in trade of all reformers and the greatest lure to dupes is the hope of fakirs, but that which serves as the immediate success. To those who have never chased after this will-o'-the-wisp, the political wanderings of one who has may not be without interest.

So far as home influence goes I should have been a Republican. But sometimes it is as natural to go against home influences as with them. Anyway, I never took to the Republican party. The George movement was the first "raucanism" in politics that attracted my attention, but the recollection of it is vague.

Two of those early impressions linger, however. One was, that among the forty or fifty men with whom I worked, but one man expressed any sympathy with Georgeism, and he was a gentleman of fair reputation. This man had run crooked games in the West and played the religious hypocrite in the East. He was afterward arrested for abusing a political office to which he had been appointed. There was nothing in society or morals that this man respected, and as I understood in a vague way, that George was endeavoring to overthrow society. I appreciated my fellow worker's enthusiasm for him.

The second thing that impressed me with Georgeism was the fact that a Roman Catholic priest played so important a part in it. Reared in an up-State village where Catholics were few, except when they came in the summer as servants of the rich, we were much more bigoted than those who lived where the creeds were more equally divided. Not only that, there being no creed more intolerant of others than the faith bequeathed by John Knox, we had a superstitious horror of the Catholic superstition. McGlynn's connection with Georgeism, then, could be nothing more nor less than an attempt by the Catholic Church to control American politics, at least so I then thought. After McGlynn had broken with the Church I often went to hear him.

Like many more I fell under the spell of that mysterious influence that was somehow evoked in behalf of the Stuffed Prophet of Buffalo. In the last year of his first term I spent a week in Washington and among other sightings attended a reception to the public given by Grover. With all the enthusiasm of a Mahometan, I repaired to the White House. As the line entered the building and wound round the reception room the devotee looked eagerly for the embodiment of civic virtue. The kind friend acting as conductor, divining the thought, nodded her head and said, "There he is." Looking in the direction indicated, I saw at the further end of the room, a squat, unprepossessing figure, clad in a baggy suit and totally unlike the hero of my fancy, and not even suggestive of the idealized pictures so familiar at that time. Nothing daunted, the pilgrim remained in the infallible book. Needless to say I followed it up by extensive reading of everything I could get on the subject. At this time I might have developed into a free-thinking crank, but for an incident that now took place and turned my thoughts in another direction.

(To be continued next week.)

He thinks that he satisfied the S. L. P. that the Socialists of Ireland know their business, and he for his part is satisfied that the I. S. R. P. takes the correct attitude when it assumes that the Socialist Labor Party of the United States is the one party in that country which most fully understands the line of march, and whose component elements are least likely to swerve from it for any consideration.

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POLITICAL WANDERINGS

With a Few Rambles Into Religious Bypaths.

The other day in talking with an acquaintance who is a trade unionist, referring to the so-called "Socialist Party," he said: "Well, they are doing your party a service. Anyone who joins and finds them to be what you claim would surely desert them and support your party. Meanwhile you can thank the fake Socialists, as you call them, for having first interested your recruits in the movement."

There may be some truth in this observation, but how could the worker take the advantage of such opportunities? Without capital—the machinery of production—to apply to such resources, he would be as advantageously situated as a man in mid-ocean in an open boat without sail or oars! The single taxer does not seem to think that there has grown up to-day the expression "land poor," i.e., owning land, but lacking capital.

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All teachers recognize the necessity of beginning right, and for them, the hardest pupil is one who has proceeded along wrong lines in the belief that he was on the right path. To both teacher and pupil the work of overcoming the impressions of false teaching is a long and arduous task.

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BANK CONSOLIDATION

Financial Interests Brought Under One Control by the Process.

Within the past ten years there has been in progress something in the nature of a consolidation of banking interests. This process has resulted in certain large institutions extending control over other banks and thereby forming groups of institutions under one control. It has also found expression in the enlargement of certain individual banks as to capital and surplus.

Another form in which its activity has shown itself is the creation of new trust companies and the enlarged interest of trust companies in purely banking business. The effect of these various developments has been uniform, and it has been largely to concentrate in a few hands the direction and administration of institutions together governing the disposition of an extraordinary mass of credit.

The hurrah business of the old parties leaves little or no lasting impression on the mind. It is mostly an emotional appeal to the supposedly self interest of the voters. The contents of hip-pockets were appealed to so often, that when we finally started it was only the closeness of the ranks that kept some of the marchers upright. It was near dark when we passed the reviewing stand. Waving our hats and yelling, we passed before the sphinx of Democracy and I recalled at the time the picture of the hurrahing troops passing in review before the great Napoleon!

EDUCATION

The Development of Educational System a Capitalist Necessity—Knowledge No Cure-All for Social Ills—Educated Workers Overrun the Profession—The Education That Emancipates.

In the various discussions upon modern education, we may hear such contradictory remarks as these: "This is the age of reality and little wit"; "This is the age of education," or "of the progress of the common people"; or again, "of artistic decline," and "of mediocrity"; hence, we may at once conclude that the inherent contradictions of capitalism extend also to its educational field and that the educational phenomena of to-day are as little understood by either actors or spectators as many another comedy or tragedy of modern capitalism. When we see thousands of persons annually striving for an "education," we may well ask "What are they educating themselves for? What is the end in view? The brightest part of their youth is spent pondering over monotonous text books. Latin, Greek, ancient history, dead and gone philosophy, mathematics and other abstruse subjects are insinuated in young minds. Why? For the public good that will result therefrom? Such thought scarcely ever intrudes with the studies. The aim of many students is simply to acquire enough knowledge of a subject to enable them to "teach." In a similar manner people study music, not because they love it, nor because it charms their souls and their eyes in time to charm the souls of others. So far from this being the case, many of the music pupils openly declare that they "hate it," and curse in their young hearts every hour they have to spend at the piano, away from play and friends or some favorite occupation. But they learn to play, become teachers and harass other "victims," and so the merry dance of musical mediocrity goes on from generation to generation.

The Object of Modern Education.

But what hides machinery is it, what spring is touched and what threads pulled that make the dolls play the many games before our eyes on the stage? The need to carry out the simile, is the necessity of making a living, and the ruling which controls it all is marked "machinery." In other words, education to-day is a merchandise; that is the only value it possesses to the members of the working class. To the sons and daughters of the dying middle class education serves, in the struggle for existence, to lessen the hardships in getting a living, and in order to be so used it must, like all other labor-power, find a master who will buy and utilize it. Some people to-day teach languages, music or painting, practice law or medicine, or write books, exactly in the same manner, and for the same reasons, as others make shoes or overshoes, mine coal or kill "their country's enemies." They may despise their work, but at the same time they can find nothing better to do for a living.

The Aim of Ancient Culture.

In no other system of society has individual gain been the ultimate aim and end of artistic perfection or mental cultivation. It has been something high and honored, something of a public character heretofore. The historic phrase, "The gods see it," of Phidias, the Greek sculptor, demonstrates beautifully that there was something far higher than personal gain and ambition underlying the great artistic era of the Greeks. Physicians, lawyers, musicians, poets, philosophers, teachers, have stood high in the scale of the social system. They surrounded the monarchs of the middle ages and played great parts in state affairs asserting their influence over all, rulers as well as ruled. The aristocracy of knowledge held itself high in the social scale and never bowed to the aristocracy

which largely even to the rulers conceived from the king's foot, by virtue of wit and knowledge, was a privileged character, a little tyrant in his own kingdom. But to-day wit has descended in value and the stale jokes grow over and over in the "funny papers" and supplied at so much per column, serve as a meagre substitute for genuine wit of the middle ages.

The Capitalist Need of Learning.

If we look backward toward the time when capitalism took its rise, we find few people, except a select circle of scholars and ecclesiastics, possessed any learning or even knew how to read or write. To the toiling masses these were useless luxuries which they had neither the time nor opportunity to acquire. To the rich they were something below their dignity, something which they left to their "servants." But, with the rise of capitalism and the development of commercial relations among the people, it became necessary for the members of the mercantile and manufacturing classes to know the arts of reading and writing; a pliant educational system developed along with capitalism and, at least, the sons and daughters of the capitalist classes received an education.

Knowledge as a Cure for All Evils. Hence, we see in the early part of the

nineteenth century that an intellectual and literary wave, so to say, swept the world. In England, France, Germany, United States, everywhere in fact, an intellectual wave followed closely upon the establishment of capitalism. These intellectuals perceived the contradictions which were already unfolding themselves in the system of "liberty, equality and fraternity," which had been ushered in and which was so loudly proclaimed by the new ruling class. They saw a new ruler developing in the person of the money-lord; and also perceived that the masses remained in misery and degradation. They alone stood above and outside the new class conflict that was shaping itself before their eyes. The only cause they could see for this position was their superior knowledge, and the only cause for the misery and degradation among the masses was the lack of the precious jewel which they had obtained. Mind, to them, ruled matter. The mind, the idea, knowledge alone was strong and noble, all else was weak and petty. Hence, with the new era, the capitalist era, a new ethic was propagated among ever larger numbers, namely, that of desire and demand and actual craving for knowledge and education. However, the strong motive power which forced on the popular educational system, although apparently deriving its impulse from the influence of the idealists of a century ago, lay hidden within capitalism itself.

Medical and Legal Quackery.

Let us take, for example, the medical profession. People to-day possess almost a mortal terror of visiting a doctor for fear of happening to consult a "quack," and the prevalent opinion seems to be that the majority are more or less quacks and that there are very few real scientists who have given the subject all the study it merits. The tremendous "cure all" advertisements in the daily papers, and weekly and monthly journals, as well as the showy signs along our avenues, which promise cure for every disease of every form; each of which could be cured, would bring to the cure a life-long reputation, bear witness into what a sad plight of fakirdom the greatest and noblest art acquired by mankind has fallen.

The legal profession has suffered no less decline. The modern terms "corporation lawyer," "damage suit lawyer," "ambulance chaser," "divorce lawyer," etc., etc., reflect upon our minds the ideas of peculiar species of birds of prey who fed upon carnage on the battlefield of modern capitalism. To obtain justice is far from being the aim in view of any "interpreter of law" to-day. Their aim is to "win the case, right or wrong," as a case won means revenue, and a case lost means humiliation and the revenue to the opponent.

The Trades vs. the Professions.

Yet another economic influence forced on the spread of learning. Its keynote is struck by the fact mentioned in the article on the "Middle Class," namely, the innate hatred of its members to "going to work." An education, a profession, is the last straw of the drowning middle class. Many of them realize that, although their small shop, store, or farm, may secure them an existence during their lifetime, yet it cannot maintain their children, especially where there are several of them, as only one could inherit the established place and the rest would have to enter the competitive field with empty hands. So they are sent to school, and the struggle many a small farmer, manufacturer, or storekeeper has gone through to educate his children is really an heroic one.

Again the members of the working class with the phrases of "equality, liberty, fraternity," "self-made men," "equal opportunities" ringing in their ears, see in education the only stepping stone by which their children can be saved from the live-long and arduous toil which they themselves have had to go through; so they also make a grand and heroic struggle, amid many sacrifices to educate their children.

All these causes working together have produced the educational phenomena of capitalism.

The Civil Service.

Besides the established professional pursuits, such as lawyers, doctors, authors, preachers, musicians, capitalism has created a number of new pursuits, which had to be filled from the schools and colleges. The complex machinery of government has opened any number of positions in the civil service. A vast army of clerks are necessary in the industrial and commercial establishments as well as in the service of the railroads, typewriting, telegraph and telephone operating, stenography, newspaper work, etc. Almost innumerable are the new pursuits opened which give an advantage to persons of education.

As machines crowd out the workers from employment, they seek to acquire an education in order to thus be able to maintain themselves by mental labor alone, or mental and physical labor combined. Hence from the great number of recruits the educational class has received from all strata of society, every channel has become overstocked. Furthermore, machines have invaded many of these fields also and thrown the educated workers out of employment or at least greatly lessened the value of their labor power.

Women and Educational Pursuits.

Another factor has made itself felt on the educational labor market, namely, women labor. As capitalism advanced and wages decreased, marriages far from kept pace with the increase in population and even more notably still has the age of marriage advanced. Hence parents, often themselves in danger of losing their positions or business, cannot, as a rule, keep their daughters at home, waiting for a husband that may never come, or not come till an advanced age. Hence, they find themselves under the obligation of providing, not for sons alone, but daughters also. Now, with

A NECESSARY MERCHANDISE AND A DRUG ON THE LABOR MARKET.

is the function of modern intellect as bought and prostituted by the capitalist press.

The Struggle of the Educated Proletariat

But to return to the educated proletariat in its struggle for existence. We find that all the professions are overrun even in their present declining condition, and, hence, the educated have ever to seek new outlets. Soliciting agencies, bill collecting, etc., are among the occupations which have to be chosen, and intellect is set in vigorous motion to deceive the unwary. Therefore, education is now experiencing a reaction. Many, especially working people, are getting careless as to their children receiving an education, when they see to what a low scale in the struggle for existence the educated proletariat is brought. A good workman is apparently much better off, and so children are often taken from school and sent to the factory at the age of 12-14, even when they are not driven by actual necessity.

Yet the merchandise, education, is increasing on the market and must find an outlet somehow. So it has come to pass that doctors without patients, lawyers without clients, ministers without congregations, authors whose talents are not recognized, and a number of other misunderstood geniuses have as a last resort taken to "fish in the troubled waters of capitalism."

Socialism and the Intellectuals.

As capitalism advances, its inherent contradictions have become more and more apparent. The labor question is forcing itself to the foreground and in the Socialist Labor Party that question has taken its only sound policy, namely, an uncompromising and perpetual class struggle. With the terrible and unceasing conflict that is raging between capital and labor on the economic field it must in the near future dawn upon the wage workers that in order for them to succeed in the conflict it must be extended on the same class lines to politics also. If this once becomes instinctively felt by the workers, the soundness of the S. L. P.'s position and the truth of its philosophy would soon become clear and would immediately result in class-conscious action both on the political and economic field. This is exactly what must be prevented, even if its prevention compels the capitalists to part with some of the profits fleeced from labor. This work is the work of "intellect." The press is not altogether sufficient and the old-time politicians, somehow, have fallen into pretty bad repute and can no longer fool all the workers all the time, especially those who possess the dignity of manhood. It has to be done in a more refined manner and the aforesaid disappointed professionals, whose restless "intellect" is but waiting for a buyer, are the very men to fill such "important" positions. Hence, within late years an immense army of them (and more are to come) have fastened upon the labor movement, like barnacles on a ship, to stay its course, or divert it into a wrong channel.

Journalistic Prostitution.

Yet if possible a worse status of corruption than either of the professions mentioned is the profession of journalist. The press to-day is a world power and asserts a great influence in national and world movements. It is the moulder of public opinion. Authorship for current papers and magazines is a new profession, a product of modern capitalism.

Hence it savors thoroughly of genuine capitalistic corruption. Modern authors write for revenue, and for it alone. Opinions are advanced for so much a column, and the more genuinely capitalistic the opinion, i.e., the better the writer can succeed in diverting the minds of the readers from the true cause and effect of the whole phenomena of modern capitalism the greater is the value of his writings to the capitalistic press; and, of course, the greater is his revenue. Consequently, revenue being the ultimate end in view to modern journalism to pervert the truth, to prostitute their intellects and to reach the highest perfection in modern sophistry is the grand goal to which modern capitalist intellectuals strive. If war is in the interest of capitalism, it is the duty of the press to form public opinion in its favor; regardless of the human life that will be lost and the untold suffering that will be brought to widows and orphans. If, as at the present time, thousands of people are freezing for want of coal, while the miners suffer misery and starvation, because work has been at a standstill, all due to the misrule of the private owners of the mines, then it is the duty of the press to keep the public mind warped on the subject, and so confuse its vision that the real cause of the trouble—the private ownership of a public function—will not be perceived. If a number of lives are lost in a great railroad accident, due to the mismanagement of the company, again it is the press that, with glaring headlines and sensational accounts, divert the minds of the readers from the real thing of interest, namely, that human life ought to be too valuable to be entrusted to private individuals whose sole aim and end is the extraction of profits.

The Press and the Working Class.

But it is in politics, however, that the capitalist press plays its greatest part. To obscure the vision of the workers as to how they were robbed, to keep their minds befuddled with the "issues" of capitalism and thus lead them to the polls and vote the tickets of capitalism, to corrupt their minds on Socialism, with lying assertions and stupid theories, to prejudice their minds against the Socialist press and Socialist agitators, in short, to keep the working class divided and subdivided on all kinds of sham battles, and to keep the workers from understanding their class interest, that

they are as well off in a trade; but with the girls the case is different. Physically weaker and in greater danger from the immoral influences of a shop, they naturally seem more fitted for the educational pursuits. Consequently many of these branches are to-day almost entirely filled by women, often by mere girls. Many girls can live at home and follow some pursuit only as a by-occupation. Now it is plain that this overcrowding of the educational branches would, under all circumstances lessen the wages paid in them, the more so is this the case when much of the labor-power thrown into that field of competition is not entirely dependent on the wages earned therein for a livelihood. So we find to-day that the professional branches are entirely overrun and the merchandise educated labor-power stacked up in the market and declining in value. Hence it is that capitalism, among all the rest of its inherent contradictions exhibits also this one, that in the midst of popular education and the advance of learning, the diminution of illiteracy, etc., there is, at the same time going on a most degenerating decline in every professional pursuit. Education is mostly mediocre and superficial; knowledge is meager, art on the decline and education, as a whole, a mere merchandise.

No one recognizes better than the revolutionary Socialist that education as a merchandise has not much more value than common labor power, and, therefore, they can never be led astray by any dreams of emancipation by education, as was believed by the early nineteenth century idealists. Yet though the Socialist recognizes the little value of education in the struggle for existence, there is probably no one that "burns the midnight oil" to a greater extent than he. The value of knowledge, sound thorough-going knowledge, is unlimited, not only to the writers and speakers of the party, but to every adherent. The most far-reaching part of our work is that done in shop and factory by the unheard of members of our party: Knowledge of science, history, economics, philosophy, languages, literature, etc., etc., broadens the view, clears the vision, strengthens the position, and emboldens the attitude of the revolutionist. Especially should every Socialist be careful that the rising generation is given the very best of education that it is possible for us proletarians to snatch from what capitalism provides, being careful at the same time, of course, that the capitalistic idea of "rising in society" is not inculcated at the same time; but see to it that the young minds grasp the grandeur of the pending struggle and the full significance of the coming revolution.

Art, poetry, romance, music, etc., have not disappeared from the race. Far from it, though they lie dormant under capitalists, because they have been degraded to a mere merchandise which is exercised only in the service of commercialism. In order to revive it, it must receive a new impulse, and that impulse can alone be furnished by the movements of the new revolution. We know from the effect of such movements in the past that the human intellect, when inspired by them, rises to the highest pinnacle. But, as the coming revolution will be the greatest and most far-reaching one in all history, so also must the revolutionary spirit of to-day carry on its tidal wave the master intellect of the world.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

CURRENT COMMENT.

SENATOR McLaurin, speaking of the reported cotton combine says that if it has not occurred it is inevitable. His reasons are given in these words: "Something will have to be done to reduce the cost of production. When profits get below a certain point a merger is the only remedy." In those reasons one may read the cause of trusts and why competition will not disperse them. They show that as competition among independent corporations increases, profits decline; and the owners are driven to consideration of means whereby the cost of production may be reduced and profits increased. Thus the trust, with its comparative lack of competition and its great economies, becomes inevitable. To make competition against the trusts effective, production below the cost established by them becomes necessary. This is impracticable with small capitalists, as it must be undertaken on a scale much larger than their capital allows. So that should the trust competitor succeed the triumph will not be one of small production. To-day large production and production by trusts are synonymous, so that the victory of competition would be barren, so far as the destruction of the trust is concerned.

"The beef trust has been smashed," shouts the Yellow Journal. The Yellow Journal shouted that once before; and then, shortly afterward, it announced in startling headlines the consolidation of the corporations composing that trust. The announcement proved premature. So will the last one regarding the beef trust.

The Daily People of Sunday, February 22, published a list of salaries paid to "labor leaders" that is worthy of study. These salaries range from \$5,000 to \$1,800 per annum. From the highest to the lowest they are excessive and extortionate. Consider that these salaries are paid to men who are alleged to be workingmen like the men they represent and the question naturally arises, why do these labor leaders require such large salaries? Consider also that these men, these "workingmen"—God save the mark!—are paid their expenses, and that they enjoy other perquisites—put their feet under the mahogany table of the capitalist class—and the question naturally arises again, Why such large salaries? Consider further that some of these "labor leaders," like Arthur, are also capitalists, or that, like Clark, they hold fat and profitable commissions, and the question, Why these large salaries? grows in volume. Finally consider that the primary function of the modern labor leader is to aid the capitalist class perpetuate wage-slavery and the question arises, Why is he at all? Why is he not kicked down and out?

"Light! More Light!"

Clean - Wholesome - Socialist Literature

H AND in hand with the sale of our party press should go the sale of sound Socialist literature. The trashy stuff dished up as "socialistic" can only be driven from the field by developing a taste for the real thing. This is the work of the New York Labor News Company:

The following book list comprises works of Scientific Socialism which we can heartily recommend:

No Trash No Pipe Dreams

The best at lowest prices, and the best is the cheapest:

PAPER BOUND BOOKS

Almanac, The. Socialist.	Lucien Sanial.	\$ 50
Anarchism and Socialism.	George Piechanow	.....
Capitalist Class.	The. Karl Kautsky.	.....
Catechism of Socialism.	A New. E. Belford Bar and H. Quiech.	.....
Class Darwin and Karl Marx.	Edward Aveling.	.....
Class Struggle.	The. Karl Kautsky.	.....
Communist Manifesto.	The. Marx and Engels.	.....
Co-operative Commonwealth.	The. Lawrence Gronlund.	.....
Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science.	Frederick Engels.	.....
Economics of Labor.	Quiech.	.....
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon.	Karl Marx.	.....
Historical Materialism.	Frederick Engels.	.....
Life of Lord Palmerston.	The. Karl Marx.	.....
New Trusts.	The. Lucien Sanial.	.....
No Compromise.	Wilhelm Liebknecht.	.....
Outlooks from the New Standpoint.	E. B. Bar.	.....
Proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.	Karl Marx.	.....
Paris Commune.	The. Karl Marx.	.....
Paris Commune, The. Lissagaray.	.....	1.00
Parasitism, Organic and Social.	Marcart and Vanderveldt.	.....
Reform or Revolution.	Daniel De Leon.	.....
Right to be Lazy.	The. Paul Lafargue.	.....
Revolution and Counter Revolution.	Karl Marx.	.....
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.	Frederick Engels.	.....
Students' Marx.	The. Edward Aveling.	.....
Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.	.....	1.00
Socialism and Single Tax.	A Debate.	.....
Socialism and Wright.	.....	1.00
Socialism, Wm. Scholl McClure.	Karl Marx.	.....
Socialist Republic.	The. Karl Kautsky.	.....
Socialism and Slavery.	H. M. Hyndman.	.....
Summary of the Principles of Socialism.	Hyndman and Morris.	.....
Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.	Wilhelm Liebknecht.	.....
Socialism and Anarchism.	Daniel De Leon.
Science and the Worker.	Ferdinand Lassalle.
Territorial Expansion.		

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1880.....	2,060
In 1882.....	21,157
In 1888.....	36,584
In 1890.....	34,191
IN 1902.....	53,617

Socialist Vote in New Jersey.

West Hoboken, Feb. 21.—The official returns give the Socialist Labor Party vote in this State as 2,332, distributed as follows:

Essex County.....	813
Hudson County.....	973
Passaic County.....	354
Union County.....	102
Total.....	2,332

The Daily People's list credits New Jersey with only 1,918 votes. It is entitled to 414 more.

PRESIDENT BAER ANTICIPATED BY ARISTOPHANES.

"Herbert Spencer in his last book says: Those who, joining a trade union, surrender their freedom to make engagements on their own terms, and allow themselves to be told by their leaders when to work and when not to work, have no adequate sense of that fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself and to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases."—President Baer before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1903.

More than two thousand years ago, Grecian wit gave birth to a genius, Aristophanes. He pulled away from the beaten path of teaching humanity through tragedies, and struck out on a new path. The foibles of man, the blunders of false reasoning, the peacock-brain absurdities of vainglory, these he exposed in a series of satires that have remained an inexhaustible source of instruction and mirth to the race. The mirror that he held up to the fools and pedants Aristophanes shaped into comedies. Foremost among these is "The Acharnians." The hero of the play is an Athenian rustic, Dicaeopolis. The war between Athens and Sparta had caused him much inconvenience, and not a little loss, until finally he was compelled to leave his home and farm, and take shelter in the city. He panted to return to his cabbages, and onions, and turnips. He panted for peace. But the Commonwealth was bent on war. At last he lost all patience. Dicaeopolis thereupon—in the words of Herbert Spencer, uttered over two thousand years later and approvingly echoed by President Baer—seizes that "fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself" and decides to "dispose of his abilities in any way he pleased." How the thing is done and what it comes to transpires from the following passage in the play:

DICAEPOLIS.—"Where is Amphion got to?"

AMPHITHEUS.—"Here am I."

DICAEPOLIS.—"There—Take you those eight drachmas on my part,

"And make a separate peace for me with Sparta,

"For me, my wife, and children, and maid servant."

For more than two thousand years Dicaeopolis has come rolling down the Avenue of Time, a bundle of contradictions, an incarnation of absurdity. He holds property,—"creature of society"; and yet would he deny society. He profits by the privileges that flow alone from society,—"organization"; and yet would he escape the duties of organization. He entrenches himself behind the constraining safeguards of civilization, a "commonweal"; and yet insists in the bird-freedom of individualism. He insists in breathing at once both the protecting air of social man and the free air of the savage; while retaining citizenship in Athens, yet would he be a city unto himself, free to conclude peace for "himself, his wife and children, and maid servant."

Only the savage surrenders no part of his freedom—and thereby he becomes

the abjectest of slaves, impotent before Nature and organized man.

Only the savage fatuously leans on the hollow reed of the "fundamental right of the individual" to dispose of his ability "in any way he pleases,"—and thereby he and his species become ready prey to the elements, and to organized man. The Gate to Freedom is the restraining one of organization, through which the individual frees himself of the shackles of individualism, and develops the superior capabilities of the species. The Trades Union, with its restriction of the individual's freedom "to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases," is an organism that makes for civilization; the Trades Unionist, who strips himself of his individualist freedom "to dispose of his ability in any way he pleases," attests his development beyond the savage, beyond also the Dicaeopolis stage.

For more than two thousand years the human race—that portion that has civilization in its keeping—has been roaring at the figure of Dicaeopolis. And well it might. That indeed he was a type, worth embalming for all time, the "philosophers" and the "captains of industry" of Capitalism—the Spencers and the Baers—bear testimony in this generation.

THE MEDUSA-HEAD.

The Hon. William Randolph Hearst, a member elect to the Federal House of Representatives, and a candidate for nomination for President before the approaching national convention of the Democratic party, has come out with a five-planked platform on domestic concerns, on "internal policy", as he terms it. The five planks can be condensed into three. They are:

First—Public ownership of public franchises.

Second—A graduated income tax, and destruction of criminal Trusts.

Third—National, state and municipal improvement of the public school system.

This political delivery has thrown the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party all into a flutter. It is bubbling over with adverse criticisms. Quoting from the ablest of these papers—the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald"—the following are the leading objections.

Against the first plank:

"As President, Hearst could not help it on, it being a local matter."

—What? Are railroads, are mines, are telephone, electric and telegraph plants "local matters"! Are they not all essential in national production and distribution? What, could a President, favoring a certain policy, "not help it on"?

Against the second plank:

"A graduated income tax calls the United States Supreme Court to mind. It has already declared the income tax unconstitutional."

—What? Is it imaginable that the tidal wave, that would carry into the White House a President committed to a certain policy, would split off on the Congressional candidates, and carry into the Capitol Congressmen committed to an adverse policy? Congress holds the Federal Courts in the hollow of its right hand. Woe to the Judge reckless enough to dare cross the will of the Legislative and Executive elect of the Nation. In less time than it takes to say it, he would be suspended and impeached, kicked down and out. What, afraid of the "capitalist Courts" with a President and Congress on one's side!

Against the third plank:

"The school system is being improved all the time. What possible good can Hearst do in this line that the people will not themselves do?"

—What? "The school system is being improved all the time," when increasingly large shoals of the working-man's children are kept out of school, partly for want of school room, partly for want of means on the parents' part? What, even if, indeed, improvement were "going on all the time", is the improvement imaginable except by means of organized political force, electing the proper magistrates? If "the people will do it all themselves", and no such organized political activity, abutting in the polls, is necessary in the improvement of the school system, why should there be organized political activity, abutting in the polls, with regard to anything else? Why any political parties, at all? Why not leave the class struggle to see to itself? Why nominate any candidate for President at all: "What possible good could he do in that line that the people

will not themselves do"?—What, Manchester School *redivivus!* What, Anarchy?

Obviously, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party objections to the Hearst platform are, and in themselves, so many tubs without bottom. Now, look into the matter still closer. It will be positively edifying.

It is not Mr. Hearst alone who has been emitting political programs. So has the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party. And what has its language been? It has pronounced itself "anti-cataclysmic," in favor of "boring from within", firmly devoted to "local autonomy", unalterably opposed to "local quorum", fond of "gradual permeation till ultimate absorption", abhorrent of "auto da fe", aiming at "one thing at a time", stuck upon "labor secretariat," consecrated to "temporary demands," etc., etc. Now, all this is very beautiful, and we doubt not, very learned. But it sounds like a foreign tongue and is beyond the grasp of the common people; moreover, it has a wild-eyed look about it. Compare it with the Hearst deliverance, and what leaps to sight? Mr. Hearst has simply translated the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" lingo into plain English; he has curried-combed it; polished it; he has made it intelligible,—and above all, rational.

When the press of the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party now throws fits at the Hearst platform, the performance is but a repetition of the Medusa-head turning to stone at the sight of the mirror in which its own horrible features are reflected.

THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENT.

The blockade of Venezuelan ports is raised. Is that all there is of it? Indeed, not! What has happened is that the blockade has been turned on the blockaders, who now, in turn, are themselves blockaded.

About two months ago, when the Venezuelan trouble broke out, it was pointed out in these columns that the "trouble" was seemingly centered in and around Venezuela, whereas, in point of fact, the trouble raged many hundreds and thousands of miles away. The issue proves the correctness of the size-up then made; it also proves the correctness of the forecast that the aggressors would come out at the little end of the horn. The language of the press of the allies distinctly points to this conclusion. This is especially so in the instance of the German press. The "Allgemeine Zeitung" speaks of the situation as "tantamount to a victory of America over Europe"; the "Taegliche Nachrichten" refers to the recent allies as being "in a sad plight"; the "Vossische Zeitung" is full of disappointment at "the discrepancy between the design and the achievement"; in short, they are all sore. And mighty good is their reason.

The assault on Venezuela was not a sporadic affair, no more than the breaking out of a pimple on any part of the body is a "local" matter. A pimple denotes a constitutional state of things. The body on which it breaks out has impure blood. The capitalist world is today an organism. It was "capitalist conditions" elsewhere that brought on foreign armaments before Venezuelan ports. What those capitalist impurities were could be guessed at; to-day guessing is no longer necessary. The delay in squeezing Venezuela, due to Venezuela's resistance, has caused certain leakages about the claims budget. The Oxford professor of international law gives an idea of the composition of the bulk of the claims. The hope was that Venezuela would cave in quickly, and the roar of cannon and clatter of swords would drown the sound of the frauds that the war had in custody. It has turned out otherwise. All these claims are to be inquired into by The Hague Committee. This Committee is made up of representatives of all the other leading capitalist countries. Will they make common cause with England and Germany on the theory that they also are incubators for just such fraudulent claims? No! The law that underlies the capitalist's motions works otherwise. They are competitors; what the one grabs is not there for the others to grab. In this conflict between wolves there lies some degree of safety for the victim. To begin with, not a tittle of the claims, that would otherwise have been enforced on Venezuela, will be now even presented at The Hague by England and Germany, and

those that are presented will be very thoroughly scrutinized. In other words, the claimants (former blockaders) are now themselves blockaded!

No doubt there is a tremendous "discrepancy between the design and the achievement." No wonder the crew is sore. The question comes, however, Where will the pimple just cauterized turn up next? What shape will it take? Turn up it must, it is the forerunner of the coming international financial and mercantile crisis.

THE MORAL LAW.

"The civil law does not pretend to take into account everything that is good and bad. The civil law does not treat of all the rights and duties and the obligations of men. If it does we had better nail up our church doors, and close our schoolhouses forever, and burn most of the books which have dealt with the questions of moral conduct. If a civil strife like this comes on, then those responsible for it must consider the moral law.... Mr. Mitchell recognized this law.... Counselor Darrow before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1903.

The conduct of the human race—taken as a whole—is dictated, not by what it WISHES, but by what it MUST. This great law of social evolution, if ignored, leads to visionariness, and, via visionariness to disaster; if recognized, it leads to intelligent, and, via intelligent action, to progress. By the light of that law, that which otherwise would seem a perplexing fact, ceases to be such; nay, it becomes luminous, so luminous as to be a torch to guide man's steps in the accomplishment of his mission on earth. The "civil law" is the work of man; "churches, schoolhouses and books" on moral conduct are likewise the work of man. Man, being the framer of both, for what reason does he fail to square the former to the principles of moral conduct that he himself lays down in the latter? For what reason is the civil law left so full of cracks? Is it done on purpose? No; man has no choice. He acts as he MUST, not as he WISHES. The moral aspirations of the race are perfect; its material powers are imperfect. What he does, accordingly, is a compromise between that which he wishes, and that which he can. This mighty truth once grasped points to two important conclusions:

First—The course of moral conduct on earth is to improve, and ever strain to improve, the material powers at man's disposal so as to fashion them into fit instruments as may be for the satisfaction of his perfect moral aspirations; Second—and this is an inevitable conclusion of the first) That individual conduct is IMMORAL that, while straining to keep the material instruments down in a state of imperfection, clamors for perfect moral aspirations. Shipwrecked men, tossed on a raft in midocean, will triumphantly shattered, spoke ill for that gentry. It was one of the labels they bore, and most of them bear yet, denoting their turpitude. The new paper, judging from several passages, denotes a healthy reaction—manhoodward. The new paper hints that the "peasant" concern keeps information from the party; it shrewdly surmises that the "monopoly" may sometimes aim to achieve its own ends—"Good! That's encouraging!"

The Socialist Labor Party cares not how off the track a foe within the Labor Movement may be; it cares not how violent in discussion his ignorance may render him. The S. L. P. cares naught for that. What the S. L. P. cares for is the character of the foe. Rotten cloth is hopeless. In a manly adversary there is always hope. The newcomer, by pulling its neck from the yoke of the Volkszeitung Corporation gives token of manly fiber.

As such, it is welcomed heartily into the arena.

The prospectus of a Canadian wheat raising company has been received from a Canadian comrade. The company is capitalized at \$1,000,000. It will operate 40,000 acres of wheat lands in Assiniboia, Canada, bought from their present owners with all the necessary buildings, steam plows, etc. The latest mechanical improvements are to be added. The company has an option on 10,000 acres in another portion of the same country. It is estimated that the average yield will be thirty-five bushels per acre. This is produced at an average of \$5 per acre, while selling for an average of \$35, leaving a profit of \$30,000. The farms of the company will be conducted by an organized staff, headed by a general manager and a retinue of clerks. Dividends are estimated at 15 per cent. annually. It is pointed out that the company has many advantages over many industrial enterprises in that while its "earnings" from its wheat products are constantly growing, the land of the company is continually enhancing in value, "creating a double source of values." This prospectus illustrates the growth of capitalist agriculture in the Dominion. It is the growth of agriculture in this country over again. It shows the same tendency to concentration as here, and the same results that are inducing capitalists of this country to take to corporate farming. In both countries the knell of the small farmer is sounded.

At such stages in the history of the race, human forces divide. One set, holds to what is; the other set pushes on to what is not yet. The Capitalist Class, true to its class interests is conservative. The class conscious Working Class pushes toward a more modern "system of civil law,"—towards Socialism. In this conflict of irreconcilable interests, in this "Irrepressible Conflict" of our generation, where stands John Mitchell?

Does he stand with both feet by President Baer? If he did, then sentence might be passed upon him for simple im-

morality. No, he stands with one foot by President Baer and the other against. In one breath he upholds the "shipwreck status," in the other he clamors for benignity.

Whatever may be the case with President Baer, one thing is obvious, the immorality of John Mitchell is doubled.

WELCOME!

A new weekly paper has made its appearance in this city. Its name is "The New York Socialist and Trades Union Review." We do not believe in, and we care less for the political vagaries—it is Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party,—or for the Trades Union idiosyncrasies—it is "pure and simpleish"—of the new arrival; nor can we admire its wild-tom-cat-scaling-a-fence appearance. Nevertheless, and for all that, the "Welcome!" we greet the newcomer with is sincere. In one respect it deserves applause.

For some time we have been calling attention to the fact that the English Social Democratic paper in this city, "The Worker," is the private property of a private concern,—the Volkszeitung Corporation. The objections raised by Social Democrats to our warnings gave opportunity for a large number of Letter-Box answers. It was therein pointed out that a bona fide, however mistaken, party of Labor must own and control its own press; that its Editor, and all engaged on it, had to be absolutely the servants of the party; and that where—as in the case in point—the Editor, etc., were the employees of a private concern, run for business, and with power to select from among the party members whom to admit into the corporation and whom to keep out, such a party would be exploited and inevitably soiled with the inevitable soiling of the "peasant" concern. That so many members of the Social Democratic party willingly yielded their necks to a yoke, which the Socialist Labor Party manfully refused to submit to, and triumphantly shattered, spoke ill for that gentry. It was one of the labels they bore, and most of them bear yet, denoting their turpitude. The new paper, judging from several passages, denotes a healthy reaction—manhoodward. The new paper hints that the "peasant" concern keeps information from the party; it shrewdly surmises that the "monopoly" may sometimes aim to achieve its own ends—"Good! That's encouraging!"

The view gains credence when some of the arguments against child labor, advanced in this agitation, are considered. It is rightly claimed that child labor is one of the most important causes of unemployment among adults. It is also asserted that the lower wages at which children must be hired is the greatest inducement for their employment. Clearly these two facts work to the great advantage of the capitalist class and the detriment of the working class. The first will accordingly favor child labor, while the latter opposes it.

A large reserve army of unemployed is essential to capitalist profit. With it the capitalist overcomes discontent and reduces wages. It naturally follows that he will protect and stimulate the development of anything tending to increase that reserve army. Child labor will accordingly be fostered and promoted by him in factory and legislature.

Machinery also adds to the army of unemployed. Now, it is a peculiarity of machinery under capitalism, that it decreases exchange value, while dispensing with the muscular strength and skill of men, thereby permitting of the employment of the more supple women and children. Competition is increased; and the hiring of child labor at low wages becomes not only necessary, but possible. Without machinery the employment of child labor would become unprofitable.

Here, then, is further evidence supporting the view that the attempt to shift the responsibility for child labor is but an attempt to hide the real culprit: the capitalist class. Capitalist conditions, created and maintained by the capitalist class, cause and promote child labor.

In the above facts, we also have the evidence to enforce the oft-made Socialist contention that child labor will not be advanced so long as capitalism prevails. On the contrary, as the present day reaction in some circles against it proves, it increases as capitalism increases. And its growth will be greater as the growth of easily-guided machinery grows.

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U. S. GRANT AND KANGAROOSM.

The below, a historic parallel from Wm. McCormick, of Ballard, Wash., is here given the right of way:

I bought a book.

If it had been "Sapho," or even "A Yellow Aster" it would cost ten cents, with the privilege of returning it for five.

But it was "Life of General U. S. Grant," so I got it for five cents if I would take it away and keep it away.

What a cutting commentary on capitalist gratitude and education!

I find that this capitalist biography of one of its exploited heroes makes mighty fine Socialist reading.

The boy, Hiram U. Grant, who did not have the least "business tact" in a horse trade, but could load a sled with logs that required four men to handle rather than drive house without a load, is a stunning rebuttal of the old "You must change human nature" gag.

The discontent with idle army life, which drove him to drink and caused him to resign is a splendid example of "Human Nature" resisting degradation.

Then he went "Farming" (!) with four negro slaves to help him, and showed his appreciation of the "Real thing" by naming his ranch "Hardscrabble."

Then he gave Labor Fakir John Mitchell's "Six Hundred Dollars a Year" a thorough test at Galena, where:

"While Grant was self-denying, had no expensive habits, had not touched liquor in several years, yet even he rebelled against that frugality necessary to make ends meet. His brother increased his salary to the rate of eight hundred dollars a year, but even this did not enable him to live and he slowly drifted into debt."

Good. Three cheers for Grant!

Now, come up against him with: "If the working men would only save their money."

"April, 1861—the twelfth of April, Hark! The thunder of cannon! It rolls on and on until its echo reaches every hamlet, and cheeks burn and eyes flash, a sign of relief escapes. All doubt is at rest. The die is cast. Now for the struggle."

Yes, Capitalism had to have a struggle, in its domains, between chattel-slavery and wage-slavery which brought all the latent disorder, stupidity, selfishness and hellishness of its nature to the surface on both sides.

"Circumstances" compelled the governor of Illinois to call "somewhat coldly upon the man from 'Hardscrabble,' who could not sell leather or 'make ends meet' on eight hundred dollars a year, "for assistance in bringing order out of the resultant chaos."

"Order" (!) was soon restored, Grant's value recognized, the governor his friend."

They had found a man who could make the "Harrers drill."

He was given the command of a regiment of "Farmers' Sons" (whose fathers were recent escapees from Feudalism) many of them barefooted and each wearing what was perhaps (good word) his poorest clothes, counting possibly on Uncle Sam supplying new suits, "who took him for a 'bum' because his clothes hat and coat were 'battered' and worn out at the elbows."

The "Rubes" were looking for a "scull" to boss them—a trait that had been impressed on their "human nature" by thousands of years of Feudalism and class rule.

Grant "changed" their "human nature" by cutting off their rations for a day, because they were an hour late with roll call, sufficient to make them respect him as "A man who knew his business," and thereby settled forever that other old gag: "What will you do with the man that won't work?"

It is not to our purpose to "hero worship" or eulogize "General Grant," but to find from capitalist information, what made the man from "Hardscrabble" valuable to Capitalism which had to get rid of Chattel-slavery at any cost. In that sense Grant was the cheapest man that Capitalism ever hired.

He was a born engineer, master of dynamic force and power, who got a chance by the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dum instead of as a human right, to get an education, at West Point, which he took seriously and simply meant to him, that two and two are four, but it meant that emphatically, and there was no other way about it. He always knew what he was "up against" and he never stultified his common sense in dealing with it. And it is mighty poor Socialism that would take any part in the sentimental rot about his "Sacrificing Men to Win Battles."

The "Rubes" volunteered to fight battles for Capitalism and Grant made them do it.

It was his duty to win battles; not to count the cost. With him there was only one way to win war, and that was to fight. Now let us get down to the parallel between the Capitalist fight against Chattel-slavery and the Socialist fight against Capitalism; between Grant, the tactical leader of "abolition," and the "tactical leaders" of the Socialist Labor Party.

The "abolition movement" meant nothing but talk, until the cannons thundered; then it took one definite form, and all manner of freaks, grafters, plunderers, and self-seekers flocked to its standard, and made for its honest defenders more trouble than the "Rebels" did.

The "Socialist movement" meant nothing but talk, until the men with common sense in the Socialist Labor Party put it on the lines of the class struggle. In 1890, then it took definite shape, and the freaks, grafters, crooks,

clerical skates, would-be editors, and book-selling parasites took it up as a vocation, which was of more importance to them than the welfare of the working class.

So we see that after Grant's common sense policy had been uniformly successful up to taking Fort Donelson, the first real Union victory, Halleck, his commanding officer, tried to "shovel him" by ordering: "Don't bring on a general engagement. If the enemy appears in numbers our troops must fall back." When he tries to follow up his success with further victories:

"Aware that Beauregard was strongly fortifying Corinth, Grant was eager to attack him while they were still weak, he urged this course upon Halleck, but the only satisfaction he got was: 'Remain where you are until you are fortified and get reinforcements!'" That knocks the S. L. P. claims to the discovery of the "Kangaroo," in 1890, into a cocked hat, as the following will show:

"Smith, being made acquainted with Halleck's orders, vehemently exclaimed:

"By— I want nothing better than to have the infernal gray coats come out and have a go at us. We can whip them all to —. Our men suppose we have come here to fight, and if we go to digging they will think we are afraid of the rascals. No burrowing in the ground for me!"

That was the stuff that abolished chattel-slavery when it came to a show down, and it was the only thing that could do it.

"Burrowing in the ground" in 1862 was the same as "boring from within" in 1890.

When President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops for three months W. T. Sherman said, "You might as well try to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt gun. It will take the whole military power of the North and it will be desperate the struggle, even then." His usefulness, to the North, was based on this bit of common sense, for which the "freaks" said he was "Mad as a March hare." He could see what had to be done and was honest with himself about it.

The whole military power of the North, in 1861, was the same as the "Solidarity of working class in 1890."

Grant's tactics were all offensive—to whip the enemy, not to keep the enemy from whipping him. But submission to the Kangaroo Halleck's orders got him on the defensive at Shiloh against Beauregard, who put up the hottest fight the South made during the whole war.

Grant finally got his offensive tactics into working order and changed Beauregard's promising chance of victory into a good whipping.

Then the "freaks" howled about the "great slaughter" (!) which occurred, in the first place, because Grant was compelled to submit to Kangaroo tactics instead of using his own, and in the second place, because two generals with offensive tactics came together over something that each considered to be of the utmost importance to his side.

But the reasoning of the malicious "Freak" is enough to make common sense dizzy. They charged Grant with the "slaughter" (!), and at the same time with being so "drunk" that he was not there.

Grant being "drunk" in 1862 was the same as DeLeon's "abusing people" in 1890.

Now let us see how the Kangaroo does things.

On the 9th of April, Halleck reached the scene and immediately assumed command in person and "shelved" Grant from active duty entirely, by making him "second in command," like a vice-chairman, where he could say or do nothing until Halleck died, which he was not likely to do while there was a chance to "burrow in the ground;"

gathered an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men against Beauregard's forty thousand and "consumed six precious weeks in advancing fifteen miles within sight of fortifications that were found empty and guarded with Quaker guns."

Then instead of marching his one hundred and twenty thousand men to the "sea" he broke them into petty commands for garrison duty, where there was no fighting.

Phil. Sheridan got from under Halleck's thumb long enough to whip five thousand Southern cavalry with two thousand horsemen.

Then the Kangaroos took their tactician to Washington, where he went, after adding insult to injury, and gave common sense tactics, in the West, a chance to begin all over again. Kangaroo tactics caused the great slaughter of men in the "Civil War" the same as they cost the Socialist Labor Party its "millions of votes" in 1900.

Kangaroos did all it could to handicap Grant, when he got a chance to move himself again, even a Julian Pierce knocked a big hole in his work (Col. Murphy at Holly Springs, who made a most cowardly surrender, for a man under the orders of such a commander as Grant), and they would have succeeded in having him removed if Lincoln, who was just getting cured of being a "Freak" himself, had not concluded to stand by the man who "won us nearly all our victories" until he captured Vicksburg, after which the stories about his "swilling whiskey" lost their force, and the success of the Union arms were assured by being put in charge of a man whose tactics were aggressive on principle.

If they had succeeded in pulling Grant down before Vicksburg; in destroying the kind of tactics that he stood for, Kangaroos would have prevailed in the Union army, which would have never gone through "the Wilderness,"

Northern nation would have elected McClellan (who resigned from the army like our "good" Sanial) in 1864; Lee would have taken Washington; then France and England would have recognized the Confederate States of America, and, what is of most importance to the working class, Capitalist centralization would have been delayed. All of which was avoided by Grant's common sense idea of war—whip the enemy before he whips you. And so it is with the Socialist Labor Party, which bases its only hope on the self-interest of the working class, solidified on the line of the class struggle. We must "fight it out on that line if it takes all" this century.

Going on the line of the class struggle in 1890 was our Belmont,—our determination to have the working class "cut their own way out."

"We stopped "boring from within" in 1860, which was our "Fort Henry." Our determination to mind our own business, which is to smash everything that is against the interest of the working class, and let the labor fakirs and crooks attend to theirs, without our help.

The establishment of the S. T. & L. A., an economic organization in line with our political purpose, was our "Fort Donelson"—our determination to put Trades Unionism on right lines.

The founding of The Daily People in 1890 was our Shiloh—our determination to save the working class from "Yellow Journalism." And now, comrades, we are up to our Vicksburg, the debt on The Daily People—that debt is the hope of Kangaroosim.

Once we can run up a banner bearing the inscription: "The Daily People is Out of Debt," Kangaroosim will wilt. Its stories about De Leon's "abusing people" won't have force enough to affect a job-hunting parson, and The Worker will never write about the "Difference" again.

It will leave that to us—the people who knew how.

Now we know that it can be done, but that is not what we want to be telling people, we want to tell them that it has been done.

So now, comrades, of the State Committee,

Stir up that four hundred and twenty-five dollar proposition. Just a little more fighting along that line, if you please.

Daily People Auxiliary League, you have held on to your lines very nicely. Now rally your old membership to new efforts, get more recruits, and do this year what they could not go last.

A little more fighting, please.

Then what has become of that brigade that was giving one day's wages to The Daily People? Let us see if we cannot rally them once more. Here is my day's wages—two dollars. Working men, this is your fight. If you have more at stake than the men at Vicksburg had for laying down their lives. So make up your mind, right now, to put in one day this year, and as soon as possible, for decreasing that debt on The Daily People. Let everybody join this brigade, no matter how much you have done besides. Go in. There is good fighting all along this line.

Then there are 52,895 votes for the S. L. P., and I did not get a chance to vote at all, so we will call it 53,000 to make up for those like me.

Every S. L. P. vote is a man's vote, and it's a mighty poor man that cannot back his vote with a dollar. So let every S. L. P. voter pay his poll tax before the first of July.

The Daily People's third birthday.

So that we can nail to her masthead: "This paper was established by working men, paid for by workingmen, is run by workingmen, for workingmen." Here is my dollar to start this brigade; it is able to pay that debt four times; plenty of good fighting along this line.

Then we will go on to our Chattanooga, where we will take the "Lookout Mountain" of Kangaroosim—silence their silly papers, would-be editors, book-selling parasites, shyster lawyers, and job-hunting parsons—and plant The Daily People on the "Missionary Ridge" of "Yellow Journalism," where we will prove that it is the only paper fit for a workingman to read.

Then on again to our battle of "The Wilderness" with "Pure and Simpledom," and finally we reach our Appomattox, the final battle with Capitalism direct, which we will win, of course, but we must remember that our opponent is a "Lee," who will not surrender until he is whipped. We must have a united, intelligently guided working class to whip him with.

We will get that as soon as the working class catch on to the fact that we are "here to fight;" to make them catch on we must reach them, to teach them we must have an incorruptible press and literature bureau; to have that we must control a plant to print it, and we cannot control anything that we do not own absolutely, and we do not own anything that is in debt. Well then the thing to do is to get that debt paid, so let us go at it, hammer and tongue, and wipe it out before the first of July. It can be done, so be sure that you are one of those that have the honor of helping to do it.

The Revolution will live; make a man of yourself by helping to lighten its burden.

If the blood and thunder speeches of Tillman, Bigelow, Wise and Grosscup are good indications, troublous times are in store for this country. With race, class and international wars on its hands, the capitalist class will be compelled to face some difficult problems. The attempt to solve them within the limits of capitalism will destroy the capitalist class. Nothing but a revolution—a step upwards to Socialism—will do.

Those wage-slaves voted for capitalism last election, thus selling their birthright to the capitalist-politician for a hand-shake, a smile, a cigar and a glass of beer, for two years. Capitalism will soon butt them so hard that they will have to give it a kick.

At the sawmill here the workers seem to understand their position better. The X-rays of scientific Socialism, are being turned on them and I hope it will result in subscriptions for The People.

R. McDonald.

Hadlock, Wash., Feb. 8.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

The Lampoonists in Retrospect.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Now that the dust and smoke have cleared away from the scene of the late lampoonist outbreak, and the whole little scheme lies bare beneath the sun, a few general remarks on the subject will not be out of place in our party correspondence.

The affair does not need much perspective. The few months that have gone by have been quite enough to bring out all the details. The first thing that strikes us on looking back is the lack of proportion between our own rage and excitement and the petty cause thereof.

For myself I confess to many end bitter tears of anger and despair. And for what? For nothing at all, except, incidentally, to talk Socialism to the miners or the "prophet" will beat him in the instalment picture business and selling the photos of labor skates.

There is an election contest on here between the Democrat, Howell, and the Republican, Connell. On the face of the returns Howell was elected; but Connell charges that bribery of voters and marking of ballots by Howell was the cause of his defeat—hence the contest. A committee is now taking evidence, and from an extract in the local papers there is proof of more log-rolling by the Social Democrats. One of the latter, named Dolan, who lives near Carbondale, according to reports of the evidence, admitted that he marked two dozen ballots for Howell, although his "party" had a candidate up by the name of Lamb.

A recent letter from Eberle to a local supporter of the "logical centrists" tells of bickerings in their camp. The letter stated that a minority fought to have De Leon speak at their headquarters in Pittsburgh, but the majority got the upper. The letter further said "although many will attend the De Leon meeting none of the leaders or prominent speakers will go; and we hope that this fanatical minority will soon go where they belong—into the De Leon camp." Judging by this, things are not what they seem in the camp of the fathers of the "ostich party."

The miners of this valley are becoming alive to the fact that they have been fooled again and have given up hope of getting anything from the Roosevelt Anthracite Strike Commission. Even the fakirs here are admitting defeat and are telling the miners that nothing can be expected through the trade union movement, exhorting them to elect the candidate of the abortion—the Economic League—in order to appeal. That does not mean that an appeal must be taken. It means simply that the side decided against may appeal, if he chooses; if he does not choose to appeal, miners remain as decided.

In point of legal interpretation, the principle is that a clause in a document must be so interpreted as to do no violence to any other clause. The interpretation of the clause "subject to a general vote," so as to mean that a general vote must first ratify the acts of that St. Louis national committee, knocks a hole into the section that provides for the manner of taking general votes. It amends it. That's a false interpretation. The actions of the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party are not "subject" to a referendum; they must be submitted to a referendum.

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Now it is to be expected that in so strenuous a movement as ours, mistakes will be occasionally made. It is even possible that, in the heat of the conflict, a straight, true comrade may be thrown out of the party. But such a one will find his way back, never fear. He certainly will never attack his own strongholds and work to tear down the organization—he will be expected through the trade union movement, exhorting them to elect the candidate of the abortion—the Economic League—in order to appeal. That does not mean that an appeal must be taken. It means simply that the side decided against may appeal, if he chooses; if he does not choose to appeal, miners remain as decided.

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OFFICIAL.**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Read street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that there are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p.m.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

London, Feb. 26.—The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held at headquarters on this date with Comrade Nuttall chairman and Comrade Bryce absent and excused.

When the minutes of the previous session had been confirmed the following communications were read and dealt with: From Comrade James Connally, of Dublin, Ireland, acknowledging payment for the expenses incurred by him while lecturing in Canada; filed. From Section Toronto, stating the election of another organizer; also asking for information regarding the party generally. From Comrade Hucker, of Sarnia, Ont., bearing on the possibility of forming a section there, also requesting the N. E. C. to procure his card from Section London and send same to him. From Section Vancouver, B. C., relative to propaganda work, etc.; as the secretary had replied to this communication it was ordered filed. He was instructed to reply to Section Toronto, giving, as far as possible at present, the information desired; also to inquire regarding their municipal elections for 1903; also to see the financial secretary of Section London and comply with Comrade Hucker's request. Phil. Courtney, rec. secretary.

Massachusetts State Executive.

Special meeting of the Mass. S. E. C. held on Friday, February 13, 1903, with John R. Oldham in the chair. All delegates present.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted. Communications from Marlboro, Lowell, New Bedford and Boston, asking information, reporting local conditions, referring to conference, forwarding dues, etc., accepted for file.

\$11.14 for supplies for secretary general paid.

Auditing committee reported on books of Section Medford. Accepted.

Agitation committee reported having secured John R. Oldham of Lynn for "Communist Celebration" of Section Lawrence.

Committee elected to draw up recommendations for State conference submitted list of recommendations, which were laid over for new business.

Report of committee to draw up tour for Comrade De Leon was accepted.

Secretary reported name of John Youngdine for member-at-large, and was instructed to send him application blank.

Secretary reported the name of Preston Parker for membership and was instructed to notify Parker to join Section Malden and inform Section Malden of that effect.

Comrade Young, of the organizer fund committee, reported that Max Bowen had paid \$1 to the organizer fund and did not receive acknowledgement in The People for the same. Comrade Stevens, of the same committee, stated he submitted list and was not aware that Comrade Young had received that money and therefore did not mention it in his report to the S. E. C.

Theodore Hellberg, Edgar E. Chester and W. H. Young were duly nominated and elected grievance committee by acclamation.

Recommendations to be submitted to the State conference were taken up.

It was voted to accept recommendations to have Scandinavian Socialist Club and Socialist Labor Party try and organize service and build up Arbatares, the socialist party paper.

It was voted to recommend that Socialist Labor Party take definite steps to build up contributors to the press of different towns and cities and to keep our official organ informed on all matters of importance.

It was voted to recommend that the Party pay more attention to members' wages and their work of agitation.

It was voted to recommend that the sections in the various counties organize county committees and each organized county committee and State committee to have power to elect an executive committee to transact such business as may be necessary between monthly meetings of the State Committee.

It was voted to recommend that the State be divided into districts to carry on the work of organization and agitation.

It was voted that we recommend to the conference that the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. keep an organizer in the field.

Financial secretary-treasurer reported receipts \$10,000; expenditures, \$1,14.

Communist Celebration. Detroit, Mich. Socialist Labor Party, and Socialist Arbeiter Partei will hold a Communist celebration and ball at Colombo Hall, No. 205 Clinton avenue, Saturday evening, March 14, at 8 p.m. sharp, for the benefit of "The Wage-Worker." Good English and German speakers will be present. Admission will be

free.

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